

11/2/77 [1]

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~~Confidential~~ cc: Stu Eigenshat & Bob
Return to
me before 1:00 pm
JC
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of gratitude because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been an intellectual and political leader and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective diplomat. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is, I believe, now growing everywhere on earth.

DECLASSIFIED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSIFICATION
CANCELLED PER E.O. 12958, SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 15, 1987

~~Confidential~~

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

cc: 2615 Brzezinski

Return to me
before 11:00 pm
J

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"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
CANCELLED PER E.O. 12958, SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 18, 1993"

Confidential re: Cy Vance
Return to me
before 1:00 PM
JC

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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~~Confidential~~

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

*Today & Nahum
Return to me
before 1:00 p.m.
J*

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"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
CANCELLED PER E.O. 12308, SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 16, 1983"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tues.
even.

Mr. President:

I reworked and had
retyped the entire speech.
Please note:

- ① p. 3 has an insert on
the broader goals of your
foreign policy.
- ② p. 7 - I have redone
the 2nd # to stress your
accomplishment.
- ③ p. 8 is new. Vance & Habib
want it omitted; I like it.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(4)

On p. 9 I inserted
the # on US aid to
Israel.

267.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

The enclosed memo
provides useful background
for tomorrow's meeting.

MJ.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OUTSIDE SYSTEM

~~SECRET~~/GDS

October 31, 1977

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

FROM:

GARY SICK *W*

SUBJECT:

Mood at World Jewish Congress for President's Speech

WJC Speech

I met for nearly two hours this afternoon with Israel Singer, the political scientist from New York, for one of our periodic talks on Middle East policy and activities within the American Jewish community. The conversation covered a wide range of topics, which can be reported separately, but it was particularly revealing about the current mood at the World Jewish Congress. He provided the following without any prompting on my part.

Nahum Goldman's speech was "heretical" but just short of brilliant. He indicated that your role in Middle East policy was constructive, and he centered his remarks on the fact that "We Jews don't know how to fight with our friends." He said the anger of the past tends to spill out at the wrong times. "Jews know how to fight pogroms. We are very good at that. But we don't know how to argue with our friends." The "friends" in this case were the Carter Administration, and the statements were very well received.

Allon also spoke today, and he too struck a conciliatory note. In a very personalized approach, he wondered how he could explain to his children how another war had been permitted to occur if he had not done everything possible in advance to prevent it. That speech was also very well received and, as Singer put it, gave the "doves" the courage to raise their heads for the first time in a while.

71 President Carter is going to be presented with a 200-year old Torah which is "truly a beautiful thing." It was provided by the "Liberty" synagogue in Prague, and it has great human rights overtones. Its presentation will be a moving ceremony.

Subject to GDS of E. O. 11652

Automatically Downgraded at Two-Year Intervals and

Declassified on December 31, 1985.

~~SECRET~~/GDS

Jay 2/1/80

Singer describes the WJC as very moderate in tone. It includes Jews from all spectrums--Eastern Europe, the Panamanian Rabbi who is Torrijos' personal advisor, even Israeli Communists. The meeting is basically in a happy mood, and that has been reinforced by Goldman and Allon. He thinks the President has a great opportunity to take advantage of this and to recoup some recent losses. There is reportedly no desire to argue with Carter, and the "crazies" are staying out of sight on the fringes.

Singer is himself a dove, and he may be overstating the case, although he has been remarkably accurate in his past reporting of the mood of the community. I suspect that he is right and that this is not the time for a fighting speech. Rather, it should be an opportunity to lay out the broad objectives of US policy, to stress the commitment to a peaceful settlement, and to look for renewed support.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11-1-77

Bob-

Revise, using texts as
marked. Return these
& your new draft
to my desk. I'll
Come back after
Leadership meeting &
have my final version
in the morning -

J. C.

①

~~There are four goals~~ my administration has set for

US.
our

foreign policy.

My emphasis on this first goal clearly helping

The first is to overcome the crisis of the spirit which

has lately afflicted the West. ~~For at least a century, since~~

the self-assured Victorian era, the West has been confident

in its values, predominant in its culture, firm in its

hope of progress throughout the world. But recently that

confidence has been shaken -- in the United States, by the

Vietnam War and the pain of Watergate, and elsewhere among

those who have wondered whether the West has a message

other than sheer material success. Raymond Aron recently

wrote, "A hedonistic civilization, so shortsighted as to

devote itself onto the material satisfactions of the day,

condemns itself to death when it is no longer interested in

the future, and loses thereby its sustaining sense of history."

That is the meaning of our human rights policy: that we

do have a message, about respect for the individual, the

dignity of all mankind, the limits which must be placed on

the state. It is a Western value, one which we proudly claim,

but we are confident that the time is right for it to pre-

vail.

Second, we ~~have tried~~ ^{are trying} to build a more cooperative

international system. We have ~~built stronger bonds~~ ^{consolidated closely} with

our allies, placed relations on a new footing in Africa, Asia,

1

and Latin America, and searched for new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union. Cooperation and restraint are especially important in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must bring that race under control.

Third, we ~~have~~^{are} ~~addressed~~^{is} some of the new global problems which threaten our mutual security. These include nuclear proliferation, transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of energy, food, and environment which face all nations of the world.

Fourth, we ~~have looked for~~^{are seeking} solutions to regional conflicts that can do incalculable damage if not resolved. Our efforts to sign a new treaty with Panama are one example; bringing about peaceful change in Southern Africa is another. But none is more important than finding peace in the Middle East.

386
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

11/1/77
Draft

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of humility because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been an intellectual and political leader ~~(of world Jewry)~~ and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective diplomat. As the head ~~(not only)~~ of this organization ~~[also of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the Presidents' Conference]~~ and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than ^{many} ~~[most]~~ heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

~~[Under the leadership of men like Dr. Goldmann, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and Philip Klutznick]~~ the World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights for all in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching -- and Jewish suffering -- have helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is now growing, I believe, everywhere on earth.

In large measure, the beginnings of many of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the ^{Judeo-Christian} ~~[Judaic]~~ tradition. I have been steeped in the ^{Bible} ~~[Old Testament]~~ since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads

the ancient words of

the Old Testament with sensitivity and care will find there the ~~[seeds of the]~~ idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

~~[There is an inscription on the Liberty Bell that was rung in Philadelphia when the American Declaration of Independence was signed. It is from the 10th verse of the 25th chapter of Leviticus, and it reads: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Last year, to mark the American bicentennial, the people of Israel placed a facsimile of the Liberty Bell, with that inscription, in a garden in Jerusalem. It was a gesture that symbolized the commitment to human rights and democratic ideals which the American people and the people of Israel share so deeply.]~~

~~[But ethical beliefs alone do not explain the remarkable role that the Jewish people have played in the evolution of a worldwide human rights consciousness. The historical experience of the Jews has been just as important -- especially the persecutions of many centuries, culminating in the horror of the Nazi extermination camps. The camps showed, in the most terrifying way imaginable, the suffering that people who have~~

~~lost their moral bearings are capable of inflicting on their fellow human beings.~~

No one should underestimate the depth and meaning of that experience. I know that those who lived through it -- and there are many in this room tonight -- have an iron determination that this historic crime will never be repeated, in any form, under any pretext. I did not share that experience. But I do share ~~that determination, and so do the American people.~~

I know also that the memory of ^{Jewish persecution and suffering} ~~the holocaust~~ lends a special quality to ^{Your} ~~the Jewish~~ commitment to human rights. ~~It is partly because of that experience that Jewish organizations and individuals played such a crucial role in the development of international human rights standards after World War II. Jewish organizations, including this one,~~ ^{This organization} made a major contribution to insuring that human rights became part of the Charter of the United Nations as one of its three basic purposes, along with the preservation of the peace and social and economic progress. ~~Rafael Lefkin, a Polish Jew who had lost his entire family in the camps, conceived the idea of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.~~ The principal authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were Eleanor Roosevelt, an American; Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian; and Rene Cassin, a French Jew.

Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that its mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start .

a process by which governments can be prodded toward living up to the ideals they have publicly professed.

[~~Jews helped design the human rights instruments of the United Nations, and the determination of Jews and non-Jews alike that the oppression Jews had suffered would never again be inflicted on anyone, ^{an} ~~why~~where, was one of the reasons those instruments came into being. Against this background, the infamous resolution of the General Assembly two years ago equating Zionism with racism takes on a particularly ugly cast.~~

That resolution was regarded as a diplomatic defeat for Israel and also for the United States. But it was really a defeat for the struggle against racial oppression and injustice of every kind.

The resolution was part of a broad effort to isolate Israel into nonexistence. That effort will fail. It cannot and will not damage the physical security of Israel. But for those who remember another and more terrible time of isolation, another time when Jews were singled out for false and poisonous propaganda, the symbolism of it is alarming.]

(more)

[I am committed to reversing that process of isolation, and we have had some small but significant successes in recent months in persuading governments to step back from the destructiveness and ugliness it represents. Someday not too far in the future, I believe, that resolution will be seen as perhaps the lowest point in the history of the UN, and many of the governments which voted for it will look back on it with feelings of shame.]

That kind of rhetoric is the enemy not just of Israel, but of any honest effort to advance the cause of human rights.]

Our actions in the field of human rights must vary according to the appropriateness and effectiveness of one kind of action or another, but our judgements must be made according to a single standard. That is the point of working to establish recognized international standards of human rights.

[And] Oppression is not somehow less reprehensible when its victims are blacks in South Africa or American Indians in the Western Hemisphere or Jews in the ^{Soviet Union} ~~U.S.S.R.~~ or dissenters in Chile or Czechoslovakia.

The commitment of the United States to human rights is ~~very broad. One of its aspects is a commitment to a secure existence for the people of [Israel.]~~ ^{the Middle East}

^{the Middle East}

→ one of four major goals for

insert p. ① ②

Sixty years ago today, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is no longer in question and whose security is stronger than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated ^{mistrust} hatred and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the success of Zionism in the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; and it can be the success of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and

*entirely
false*

her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders. Our friendships and our interests require that we devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose my views on the parties, but rather as a way of ~~beginning the process of~~ defining the elements of an overall settlement that would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations. I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal ^{from occupied territories}, and agreement on final, recognized borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those ^{questions} ~~issues~~ are ^{inter} related in complex ways, but for peace to be achieved, all will have to be ^{resolved} ~~dealt with~~.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focussed on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as mediators, ~~but not as arbitrators~~. We can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious peace talks to begin, I believe that a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has become essential. All the parties ^{have} ~~accept~~ the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several

and in agreeing to discuss the future of the West Bank and Gaza in a working group with Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs.

important procedural arrangements.

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting the idea of a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinians, at Geneva, This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate with ^{out} preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that all must genuinely accept if peace talks are to proceed.

add
Gaza, etc

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. No longer is there any question ^{about} [of] sitting down at the negotiating table with Israel, and none of the Arab parties dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past. I have found in my talks with Arab leaders a readiness to end the state of war and to establish real peace embodied in binding peace treaties. ⁹ And I know how deeply peace is desired by the people of Israel, who have suffered such great losses, in proportion to their population, in three wars that were not of their choosing.

Sub: 8 A
8 B

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting the idea of a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinians, at Geneva. This positive and constructive step can provide the means for a moderate Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that all must genuinely accept if peace talks are to proceed.

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. No longer is ^{do they refuse} ~~there unwillingness~~ to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, ^{now do they} ~~and none of the Arab parties disputes~~ Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past. Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today ~~we may be only weeks~~ ^{are within reach --} ~~away from~~ such negotiations, and I am proud of the efforts that we have made to make this dream possible.

To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions will have to be reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in

83.

violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. These unilateral acts inevitably create an impression of permanence and raise doubts about Israel's willingness to exchange territory for peace, as envisaged in UN Resolution 242.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, that Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. Today, most responsible Arab leaders speak of their willingness to coexist with Israel, and we are determined to promote a peace based on solid security arrangements, not merely on professions of good will ~~which could prove to be insincere~~. The continuing refusal

of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, ~~or the~~ *Israel's position. A right to exist,* along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified. If Israel is to be asked to believe that Arab intentions have in fact changed, these obstacles to peace will also have to be removed.

Since the October 1973 war, the United States has invested heavily of its time and resources in the search for peace in the Middle East. That effort has already brought a resurgence of American influence throughout the region. Our prestige has never been higher. Our role as a credible mediator is widely accepted.

Our relations with Israel have never been stronger. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grant or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history.

It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. *Our aid will continue.*

The time has come to translate Israel's strength and American influence into momentum for peace, a peace which must of course include a permanent and secure Jewish state of Israel. That vision of peace is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917, but it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

I have a vision of a Middle East in which people will pray along side one another rather than fighting; I have a vision of a Middle East in which people will move freely across borders once sealed by barbed wire; I have a vision of a Middle East at peace, rather than one that threatens to disrupt international stability and prosperity. This is not a vision that can be achieved without effort, or without commitment. But the first steps can be taken, and this is what we are now trying to achieve.

Peace in the Middle East is our abiding objective, and to achieve it I will need your support, as well as the support of all Americans. It is that support that I am asking for tonight.

to use its influence constructively.

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the resources of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not unfairly pressure any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

immed
→ As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative [^{of} ~~to~~] stalemate and war is infinitely worse.

from
p. 5
etc.
→ The costs of ^{another} war in the Middle East would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long thought only of ^{conflict} ~~survival~~ and ~~[struggle]~~ The hope for survival.

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US AID TO ISRAEL -- FY 74 THROUGH FY 78

TOTAL	\$10. 07 billion
TOTAL FMS	\$ 6. 5 billion (64% of total)
Grant	\$ 4. 1 billion
Credit	\$ 2. 38 billion
 TOTAL ECONOMIC AID	 \$3. 59 billion (36% of total)
Grant/Concessional	\$3. 01 billion
Credit/Guarantees	\$. 58 billion

TOTAL GRANTS	\$7. 11 billion (71% of total)
TOTAL CREDITS	\$2. 96 billion (29% of total)

[Israeli population = 3. 3 million

\$3, 052 in US aid per person since the October War, or
\$610 per person per year over the past 5 years]

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

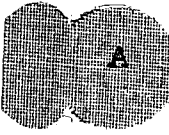
Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country".

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Y. in
Arthur Balfour



November 2, 1977

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Sixty years ago today, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is no longer in question and whose security is stronger than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated ~~hatred~~ ^{mistrust} and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the success of Zionism in the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; and it can be the success of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders. Our friendships and our interests require that we devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose my views on the parties, but rather as a way of beginning the process of defining the elements of an overall settlement that would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations. I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal of forces and agreement on final, recognized borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those issues are related in complex ways, but for peace to be achieved, all will have to be dealt with.

For serious peace talks to begin, I believe that a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has now become timely. All of the parties accept the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting the idea of a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinians, at Geneva. This positive and constructive step can provide the means for a moderate Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that all must genuinely accept if peace talks are to proceed.

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. No longer is there unwillingness to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, and none of the Arab parties dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past. Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today we may be only weeks away from such negotiations -- and I am proud of the efforts that we have made to make this dream possible.

But for further progress toward peace to be made, it is essential that several remaining obstacles be overcome. Where disagreements persist over procedural details, I believe that the best solution will be found by relying on the practices established for the opening round of the Geneva Conference in December 1973.

Doubtful

[At that time, the roles of the US and USSR as cochairmen were established, along with that of the UN Secretary General, We should continue to follow established procedures where they exist.]

doubtful

To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions will have to be reduced. One source of ^{almost universal} [Arab] concern [about Israeli intentions] has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. [These unilateral acts inevitably create an impression of permanence and raise doubts about Israel's willingness to exchange territory for peace, as envisaged in UN Resolution 242.]

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, that Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. Today, most responsible Arab leaders speak of their willingness to coexist with Israel, and we are determined to promote a peace that will make any "second-stage" impossible. But the continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, ^{and the permanent existence of Israel,} along with the resort to violence and terror by some Palestinian groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence

*Here PLO is equated
to Arab*

that their worst fears may in fact be justified. If Israel is to be asked to believe that Arab intentions have in fact changed, these obstacles to peace ~~will also have to~~ ^{must} be removed.

Finally, it must be apparent by now that no peace can be achieved unless the Palestinian question is finally resolved. Negotiations at Geneva must deal forthrightly with this issue, and creative solutions must be found. The United States has no preferred outcome to recommend. This is for the parties themselves to resolve. [But I do believe that stability in the Middle East will be enhanced if Palestinians can find their political identity in an entity of their own. Political, *doubtful* economic and social imperatives dictate that such an entity should be linked in some fashion to Jordan.] How this can best be accomplished, and the timing of possible interim steps along the way to a final settlement of the Palestinian question, must be dealt with at Geneva.

(Since the October 1973 war, the United States has invested heavily of its time and resources in the search for peace in the Middle East. That effort has already brought a resurgence of American influence throughout the region. Our prestige has never been higher. Our role as a credible mediator is widely accepted.

*364 To much bragging -
We should deplore enormous
investment of Israel in their
own security - mention what
we contribute as partners -*

Our relations with Israel have never been stronger. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grant or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history.

It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. We intend to continue our aid. It has been a good investment for peace. The time has come to translate Israel's strength and American

influence into momentum for peace, a peace which must of course include a permanent and secure Jewish state of Israel. That vision of peace is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917, but it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

Elan
\$ 7/6/62
I have a vision of a Middle East in which people will pray along side one another rather than fighting; I have a vision of a Middle East in which people will move freely across borders once sealed by barbed wire; I have a vision of a Middle East at peace, rather than one that threatens to disrupt international stability and prosperity. This is not a vision that can be achieved without effort, or without commitment. But the first steps can be taken, and this is what we are now trying to achieved.

Peace in the Middle East is our abiding objective, and to achieve it I will need your support, as well as the support of all Americans. It is that support that I am asking for tonight.

quote from the Bible

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

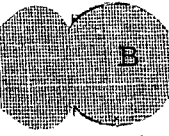
I have marked

*

the essential changes.

U7

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

This text omits:

- ① reference to '73 procedures
- ② settlements
- ③ PLO
- ④ Palestinian question
- ⑤ Past level of US aid to Israel.

November 2, 1977

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Sixty years ago today, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is no longer in question and whose security is stronger than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated hatred and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the success of Zionism in the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; and it can be the success of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders. Our friendships and our interests require that we devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose my views on the parties, but rather as a way of beginning the process of defining the elements of an overall settlement that would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations. I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal of forces and agreement on final, recognized borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those issues are related in complex ways, but for peace to be achieved, all will have to be dealt with.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focussed on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as mediator, and we can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious talks to begin, I believe that a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has now become essential. All of the parties accept the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting the idea of a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinians, at Geneva. This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that all must genuinely accept if peace talks are to proceed.

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. No longer is there any question of sitting down at the negotiating table with Israel, and none of the Arab parties dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past. I have found in my talks with Arab leaders a readiness to end the state of war and to establish real peace embodied in binding peace treaties.

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the resources of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not unfairly pressure any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and war is infinitely worse. This is not a conflict that can be resolved by force, but only by compromise. The time for compromise and enlightened leadership is now.

The costs of war in the Middle East would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace has a compelling logic for the Middle East, for it could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long thought only of survival and struggle.

The vision of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper. The peace we seek, which must include a permanent and secure Jewish state of Israel, is one that all Americans can support. It is a goal worthy of our deepest commitments. If at times we differ, let it be clear that our differences are over tactics, and not over the abiding objective of peace that we all share.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski
Tim Kraft

The attached was returned in the
President's outbox today and
is forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: DATES FOR 1978 SPRING NATO
SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nov. 1, '77

MR. PRESIDENT:

May 29 is Memorial Day (a Monday) a possible Camp David weekend.

Your one-day participation on the 30 or 31st is recommended, on the premise that Congress will be slow in returning to Washington after that holiday.

T_K TK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION
FYI

*include
TK
note*

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	McINTYRE
	SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
✓	EXECUTIVE ORDER

Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary -
next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
✓	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

✓	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6828

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL/GDS

ACTION

November 1, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*
SUBJECT: Dates for 1978 Spring NATO Summit
in Washington

via Tim Kraft

The Department of State and the NSC are now anxious to have you indicate your preference for dates for the 1978 NATO Summit in Washington.

You will recall that at the May 1977 NATO Summit you proposed, and the allies agreed, to hold the next meeting in Washington in Spring 1978.

An early decision is desirable because:

- it would be appropriate and newsworthy for you to be able to announce the date of the Summit at the meeting at NATO headquarters during your visit to Brussels in December 3;
- it will take all the time we have between now and December 3 to get the necessary prior Allied consensus on the proposed dates;
- planners in Washington need to begin to make suitable arrangements for the meeting itself and
 - the Allied heads of government and other officials who will attend.

On timing: State and we recommend late May to mid-June as the most appropriate time because:

- so far, the national security portion of your calendar for that period is free of events that might conflict with a NATO Summit; invitations have been extended to eight

CONFIDENTIAL/GDS

Jay 2/1/80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL/GDS

Heads of State and Government for the first half of the year. Three leaders -- the Algerian, Zambian, and Afghan Presidents -- have expressed a preference for the period May to July to visit the US; you are also considering a trip to Germany, probably in conjunction with the Economic Summit which is recommended for July. We will work around the dates you approve for the NATO Summit meeting in scheduling these events.

- it will follow the mid-May Defense Ministers meeting in Brussels;
- and, after the mid-May meeting, it will allow the Allies time to finish the report to their heads of government on defense initiatives and the East-West study you launched at the London summit meeting.

Schedule for May 30 - June 2 period ✓; alternatively,

June 6 - 9 ; or June 13 - 16 .

Other .

Your participation: you have the option to determine whether heads of government would participate in the NATO session both days or only one, with the second day left for Ministerial level participation.

One-day participation ✓; two-day participation .

JC

CONFIDENTIAL/GDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 2, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Tim Kraft

SUMMITRY

~~CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7034

*July ok
J*

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

INFORMATION

October 31, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY OWEN *HO*
SUBJECT: Summitry

1. Next Summit. Dieter Hiss, the Chancellor's Summit representative, told me on the phone recently that Schmidt had discussed Summit timing, separately, with Callaghan and Barre; all three favored July. Yoshino, whom I saw recently, told me that Japan would find July acceptable. Hiss asked if you would like to combine your trip to Germany with a July Summit.

2. Follow-up to Last Summit. Hiss said that the German tax cut had just emerged from a legislative conference, and that it was being increased from 7.4 billion marks to well over 10 billion marks. This 40% increase was due, in good part, he said to the Chancellor's personal intervention. The next time you write or talk with Schmidt you may wish to congratulate him on the substantial expansion that he engineered in the German tax cut. The more we congratulate him when he does the right thing, the more likely he is to keep on doing it.

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

Jy 21/80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1977

C/

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICK HERTZBERG, Speechwriting *Rick*

SUBJECT: World Jewish Congress speech

The award: You are the fifth recipient of the Nahum Goldman Medal. The others have been Harold Wilson, President Ezer Weizman of Israel, Goldman himself, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, founder of the American Jewish Congress and first president of the World Jewish Congress, who was honored posthumously (very posthumously -- he died in 1949) earlier this week.

There was some opposition to giving you the medal within the World Jewish Congress, but the leadership firmly quashed it.

The audience: The leadership of the World Jewish Congress, which is one of the most dovish of Jewish organizations, is sympathetic to our Middle East policy. Goldman himself is especially dovish, and while most American and Israeli Jews respect him for his accomplishments, they are out of sympathy with his views.

The audience itself is likely to be more representative of the Jewish community as a whole -- that is, dubious and in some cases angry about what they perceive to be our policy. But they will be polite and will eagerly applaud any reassurance you give them.

The procedure: Philip Klutznick will present the Medal; Goldman will present you with a gift of a 14th century Torah scroll; and then you will speak. I have attached advance texts of what Klutznick and Goldman will say.

The speech: The Jews fear that you are not on their wavelength and don't understand their psychology. This adds to their paranoia -- a paranoia for which they have ample historical justification. That is why it is so important to strike a tone of passionate sympathy and understanding of the Jewish historical experience. Simply to go before this group and restate our Middle East policy would probably worsen the fears of the broader Jewish community in the United States.

As far as relations with American Jews are concerned, the most important thing this speech can do is to get across your passionate concern and your understanding of the fact that they feel as they do because of what they have been through.

Presentation by Philip Klutznick of the Goldmann Medal to
President Carter

Mr. President;

It is my great privilege to welcome you to the World Jewish Conference. The reason for your honoring us with your presence tonight stems from your deep-seeded commitment to human rights. Therefore, let me say at the outset, Mr. President, that the World Jewish Congress was established in the 1930s to fight against the greatest onslaught in modern history -- perhaps all history on human rights, the human rights of all people -- the Jewish people.

The World Jewish Congress has affiliates in 63 countries in all five continents representing almost the full spectrum of social economic and political systems. Those here this evening have come from over 40 countries. Some of them are survivors of the holocaust that almost wiped out European Jewry.

They have witnessed the miracle that followed the holocaust. The rebirth of Israel and the revival of a people. Among this group you will find, Mr. President, a special sensitivity to any kind of threat to human rights.

Like all of us they were deeply moved that for your Inaugural Address you found inspiration in one of the great Jewish prophets. You have lived up to that promise. You have extended the fight for human rights from the realm of ideas to the realm of international statesmanship leading directly to action. You have made respect to human rights a requirement for respect among states.

In your pursuit of freedom and human dignity, Mr. President, you have committed our nation to be worthy of its highest ideals.

Of course the path ahead is strewn with difficulty. Some will claim that this policy might lead to the sacrificing of more practical objectives.

Permit me to say to you, Mr. President, that it has been the destiny of great leaders of the world especially in a democracy that they are not praised for what they achieve but freely criticized for human error. You sir have already demonstrated that you will go down in history as an activist president concerned with the human aspiration for a better world. I am confident that your personal commitment will emerge in tact in the days to come even though we pass through momentary fears as in recent months.

The medal we confer upon you tonight bears the name of a man who throughout his entire lifetime has struggled to exemplify the very essence of human rights.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann as President of the World Jewish Congress has devoted his life to conquering the obstacles to a decent world. For a generation I can personally attest that he has immersed himself in the struggle for human dignity and equality and for the ultimate right -- the right of each individual to be different.

He has practiced what Aristotle preached, "Democracy is not possible unless each of its members is as capable of outrage at injustice to another as he is of outrage against himself."

Mr. President, on behalf of the World Jewish Congress I am privileged to present the Dr. Nahum Goldmann medal to you as a human being capable of outrage of injustice to another.

Goldmann Remarks upon presenting SAGER TORAH

We have great honor and privilege, Mr. President, to present to you an old torah scroll brought to this country from Czechoslovakia where it belonged to a Jewish community dating back to the beginning of the 14th century. The Sager Torah contains in Hebrew letters handwritten by scribes the five books of Moses. It is the most sacred treasure of the Jewish people which we have cherished for thousands of years. Its values, ideals and laws have guided our people throughout centuries of persecution, humiliation and dispersion. It is the foundation for the miraculous survival of the Jewish people. There is a Jewish people today enjoying equality and rights in most countries of the world. We have created a state of Israel primarily with the help of the nation you lead. All of this is due to the inspiration of the Torah. We live by its precepts, we die for it and we have survived because of it. In the name of Jews from 63 countries represented by the World Jewish Congress and united by faith and destiny, I present to you, Mr. President, yourself a man of faith, the most ancient document of human faith, the holy Torah. Take it to the White House as a constant reminder of our hopes as a people and our prayers for justice and peace.

#

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS TO

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Wednesday - November 2, 1977

Departure: 8:40 p.m.

Attire: Business Suit

From: Tim Kraft

SEQUENCE

8:40 p.m. You board motorcade on South Grounds
and depart en route Capital Hilton
Hotel.

8:43 p.m. Motorcade arrives Capital Hilton Hotel.
You proceed to the Presidential Ballroom.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
OPEN ARRIVAL

8:45 p.m. You arrive offstage announcement area,
Presidential Ballroom, where you
will be met by:

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President
Phil Klutznick, Chairman, Governing
Board
Leon Dulzin, Chairman, General Council
Jay Berman, Washington Coordinator

8:47 p.m. Announcement.

You proceed to the Presidential Ballroom
and take your seat.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 650

2.

8:49 p.m.

Introduction of you by Phil Klutznick, concluding with presentation of the Nahum Goldmann Medal to you.

NOTE: The Medal is a silver coin and will be presented to you in a box.

8:55 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

9:15 p.m.

Your remarks conclude.

9:16 p.m.

Remarks by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, concluding with the presentation of a Torah to you.

NOTE: The Toral weighs approximately 25 pounds and should be held by both ends.

9:20 p.m.

Presentation concludes.

9:21 p.m.

Benediction by Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg.

9:28 p.m.

You thank your hosts and depart Presidential Ballroom en route motorcade for boarding.

9:31 p.m.

Motorcade arrives South Grounds.

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